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A  
S E R M O N  
Preached before the  
Lord Mayor,  
ALDERMEN,  
AND  
CITIZENS of LONDON  
AT

LIBRARY OF THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY  
NEW YORK

BOW-CHURCH, on the 30th. of January, 1682.

By GEORGE HICKES, D.D.

Chr. Goodman of *Obedience*, p. 52, 53.  
Although the Popes for sundry Enormities have deposed  
Kings by unlawful Authority, the reason that moved them  
so to do, was honest, and just, and meet to be received and  
executed by the Body of every Common-wealth.

L. Keeper Puckering in a Speech to both Houses,  
— And as the Case stands, it may be doubted whether  
They, or the Jesuits do offer more danger, or be more spee-  
dily to be Repressed; for albeit the Jesuits do Emplayson  
— they join, and concur with the Jesuits. —

Gen. xlix. 6.

*O my soul come not thou into their secret, nor unto their assembly —  
Lam. 4. 20. The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord was taken  
in their Pits.*

L O N D O N,  
Printed for Walter Kestilby at the Bishops-Head in St. Paul's  
Church-Yard, 1683.

# Moore, Mayor.

*Martis xxxi die Januarii 1681 Annoq;  
Regis Carol. Secund. Angl. &c. 34.*

**T**His Court doth desire Dr. *Hickes* to Print his  
Sermon Preach'd at *Bow Church* yesterday  
(being the day of Humiliation for the Murther of  
his late Majesty of ever blessed Memory) before  
the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of this  
City.

**WAGSTAFFE.**

TO  
The Right Honourable  
**Sir John Moore,**  
LORD MAYOR  
Of the City of  
**LONDON.**  
And to the Court of  
**ALDERMEN.**

My LORD,

**A**S in the primitive ages of Christianity much harm  
and dishonour happened unto the Christian Re-  
ligion by † Atheists, Hereticks and False-  
teachers, who were called Christians, and under that  
glorious denomination taught ungodly, blasphemous, un-

αἰρεσῶντες, οἱ καὶ πάντα βλάστησαν, καὶ ἀδελφὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπων διδασκάλων. Ἰδοὺ οὖν πάλαι ἀδελφὰς, καὶ βλάστημα, καὶ ἀδελφὰ ἐν ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἡγεγεμένους, ἐκείθεν. Dial. cum Tryph. & in ap. l. 2.

## The Dedication.

righteous, and absurd things: So in this unhappy Age, wherein we live, the Protestant, which is but another name for the Primitive Christian Religion, hath been much damnified, and disgraced; by Atheistical, Heretical, and other Seducing teachers; who under the name of Protestants have taught the World, wicked, absurd and unchristian Doctrines, contrary to the true Protestant Religion, and so have disgraced the Protestant, as Justin Martyr complained, the others did the Christian Name.

Among these we have great reason to reckon all those who have taught the People the unchristian doctrines of Disobedience, Treason and Rebellion, of whom I may say, as that Father said of the foresaid Christians, that although they be [λεγόμενοι ἀγιστιανοί] called Protestants, yet they are not [ὁρδογνώμονες κατὰ πάντα ἀγιστιανοί] Orthodox and compleat Protestants, indeed no more, than the Sadducees, and other Jewish Sectaries, which he mentions, by way of comparison, were truly Orthodox Jews.

In this following Discourse I have set the precepts of the Gospel, and the principles, and practice of the primitive Christians against the principles and practices of these men, observing the same method, that a learned Divine did before me in the same Audience upon the next words before my Text, on the 5th. of \* November; and one would think, that what passed for true, and  
seasonable



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seasonable Divinity then, should not be misliked, and condemned now.

But yet, My Lord, so it happens, for some men, I hear, who like the preaching of this Doctrine one way, do not like it another, when it is charged home upon the culpable Parties; to which, it is to be feared, they have too strong an inclination: Otherwise I cannot well imagine why they should so publicly, and plainly suggest that I pretended I could name a great many Authors, and some yet living, for the dangerous principles, which I recited, when I had none to name.

This Reflexion, My Lord, made me send back for the sheets from the Press, that I might for my own Justification cite the Authors by their Names, and if I have disoblged any by doing so, they must not blame me, because it was not my first intention, but those, who constrained me to be so plain.

I could have been far more numerous both in reciting their principles, and in citing the Authors of them too; for since I made this Discourse, which was a year ago for my Parish, \* new Collections have been made out of their Writings, but I have added very little, contenting myself with what I had before provided out of their Originals, and out of the Collections: which were then to be had; and as the Passages, and Authors which I have  
cited

\* Dissenters  
Sayings in  
2 Parts.

## The Dedication.

cited are not the tenth of what hath been Printed ; so all that they have printed themselves, or others have printed out of them, is not the tenth, nor perhaps the hundredth part of what these men have taught and preached.

So much, My Lord, hath the contagion of the Popish principles of Rebellion over-run these Protestant Kingdoms ; and if what I have said in the following discourse may prove as an Antidote to expell them out of the Soul of any one man, that is infected with them, I shall not value what the incurable and impenitent sort say of me, but rejoice when they shall revile me, and prosecute me, and say all manner of evil against me falsely upon that account.

I hope I have said nothing neither as to the matter nor manner of Expression which the Subject and the Day will not excuse, but if any think that any Passage in it is too keen, let him not be offended, but first consider the merits of the Crime, and then imagine with himself what any of the Fathers or Apostles whom I have cited in the first part, particularly what the Author of the 13th. of the Romans, if he had Preached upon that occasion, would have said thereupon.

It

## The Dedication.

It hath formerly been laid with much acceptance to some Parties upon the Papists, who undoubtedly had a considerable share in the execrable Tragedy, and therefore I hope I shall not incur their displeasure by laying it upon Popish principles, by which the Papists have debauched so many Protestants from their Allegiance; and if upon the dismal view of the whole I have used some warm and sharp Expressions, it was no more than was necessary upon that occasion, to shew my just Resentments for such a Crying Abomination, and the deadly Blow which the Protestant Religion hath received thereby.

I know your Lordship is very sensible of all this, as every good Protestant ought to be; I know your Loyalty is part of your Religion, and that, as St. \* Augustin \* In pf. 124. speaks, you faithfully serve and obey your temporal for the sake of your Eternal Lord. The sense of your duty, as a Christian, makes you a most obedient Subject, and faithful Magistrate under your Sovereign; and also a most grateful Citizen to such a mighty Benefactor to this illustrious City, and as all truly conscientious loyal men now love and praise you for these and your other exemplary virtues; so they will hereafter honour your Memory for them when you shall be translated from this, into the City of God.

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I pray God assist you under the burthen of your present Magistracy in these difficult time,, and bless you with long Life and Prosperity after you shall retire from it, and I am sure there are great numbers in this City who will heartily join in this Prayer with

Your Lordship's

Most Faithful and

Obedient Servant

George Hickes.

# SERMON

Preached before the

## LORD MAYOR

Jan. 30. 1681.

ACTS xvii. 7.

— *And these do all contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying, That there is another King, one Jesus.*

The Context before is this :

*These that have turned the World upside down, are come hither also, whom Jason hath received; and These—*

**A**S it is natural to all men to be of some Religion, so it is natural unto them to be Inquisitive after the best ; So that neither the authority of their Ancestors, nor the Legal Establishment, nor the force of Education can overcome their Curiosity, or keep them from harkning to new Prophets, or Teachers of new Religions, and new Gods.

Hence it hath come to pass, that the most dangerous Enemies of any Government have usually been projectors in Religion; pretending a great Zeal for the right God, or the right Worship, and under that pretence have accused the established Religion of Falseness, or Faultiness; either that it was not the true Religion, or if it were, yet that it was not so Reformed, and Pure, as it ought to be.

These Seditious pretences have obliged most Governments to secure themselves by Penal Laws against Inno-

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vations



*A Sermon Preached before*

ventions in Religion, having found by long and frequent Experience, that Innovators in Sacred were commonly Innovators in Civil matters, and that the plausible pretence of reforming the Church, did usually end in the ruine both of Church and State.

† De Leg. L. 1.  
Separatim nemo habet  
Deos, neve  
novos, sed  
ne advenas,  
nisi publicè  
adscitos priva-  
tim colunt,  
constructa à  
patribus delu-  
bra habent.

For this reason, as † *Cicero* tells us it was Enacted among the *Romans*, that no man should presume to worship any new or strange Gods, nor the Gods of the Countrey in private Meetings, or according to private Rites, or Ceremonies, but in the Temples, and after the way of their Ancestors, which was established by Law.

These Ecclesiastical Laws of the ancient *Romans*, were part of the twelve Tables, which they borrowed from the *Athenians*, among whom they were originally enacted; and by virtue of which *Socrates* was condemned, and *St. Paul* above 400 years after him, arraigned at the Supreme Tribunal of that City, for a Setter-forth of strange Gods.

In this state did Christianity find the World at its first publication armed with Penal, and Sanguinary Laws against Innovations in Religion; and the Emperour, and Imperial Powers more especially jealous of Jewish Prophets and Teachers, because *Judas* of Galilee, *Theudas*, *Barabosbas*, and other false Messiahs had frequently drawn the Jews into tumults, seditions and rebellions; which was the reason that the *Romans* always kept a strong guard in the Temple, and that the chief Captain asked *St. Paul*, if he were that *Egyptian*, meaning *Theudas*, who had formerly made an Uproar, and led out into the Wilderness 4000 men that were Murderers.

The Emperour, and his Presidents being thus made jealous of Innovators in Religion in any Province, but especially in *Judea*, the unbelieving Jews took this advantage to traduce our Saviour, and after him his Disciples before them in every City and Country where they came. They † followed them for this purpose from place

† Dial. cum  
Tryph. 335.  
c. 348. b. 350.  
353. 371. Ed.  
Par. 1615

the Lord Mayor, Jan. 30. 1682.

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place to place, and moreover made special use of the Doctrine of *Christ's Kingdom*, to make the Roman Governours, and Officers believe that their Doctrine was inconsistent with the Government, that they were enemies to *Cæsar*, and his authority, and had a secret design upon the Empire, cloked under the specious pretence of Religion; and when this would not succeed, they stirred up the Rabble of all the Cities where they came, to make tumults and uproars against them, as † *Atheists* against the Deities of the Empire, or Setters-forth of strange Gods.

† *Just. Mart. dial. Tryph. p. 234.*

This I shall prove at large in the following Discourse, in which I shall proceed according to this familiar Method.

First, I shall shew, that it was an old charge against the primitive Professors of the Christian Religion, that they were enemies to *Cæsar*, and did all things contrary to his Decrees.

2. I shall prove, that this charge was most malicious, and unjust.

3. I shall enquire, whether any Modern professors of the Christian Religion, be guilty of this heavy charge.

And last of all, I shall conclude with some Practical Reflexions proper to the Times, and the business of this day.

I. It hath been an old charge upon the professors of the Christian Religion, that they were enemies to *Cæsar*, and did all things contrary to his Law: A charge as old as the Founder of it *Christ* himself; whom the whole multitude of the *Jews* accused before *Pilate*, saying, \* *We have found this fellow perverting the Nation, and forbidding to give tribute unto Cæsar, and saying, that he himself is a King.* And when *Pilate* being convinced of his innocence, sought to release him, they cried out the

\* *Luk. 23. 2.*

\* Job. 19. 12.

more earnestly, saying, \* If thou lettest this man go thou art not Cæsar's friend: whosoever maketh himself a King, as this Malefactor doth, speaketh against Cæsar.

And Acts 24. 5. We find the whole Sanhedrin of the Jews at Cæsarea accusing Paul before the tribunal of Felix the Governour, that he was the Ringleader of the Nazarenes, a pestilent fellow, and a mover of Sedition among all the dispersed Jews throughout the Empire.

And so in my Text, The unbelieving Jews of Thessalonica moved with envy, took certain lewd fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a company, and set all the City in an uproar, against Paul and Silas, and assaulted the house of Jason, where they lay; but when they found them not, they drew Jason, and some other brethren to the Ruler of the City, crying, These, that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also, and Jason hath received them, and they do all things contrary to the Laws, and Edicts of Cæsar, and say there is another King, one Jesus.

† Epist. Eccl.  
claf. Smyrn. de  
Martyrio Polycarp. apud  
Euseb. 4. 15.

The like † clamour, and outcry, the Rabble of the unbelieving Jews and Gentiles made against Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna, at the time of his Martyrdom. crying out against him to the Governour, that he should cast him to the Lyons, and when he answered them he could not, because the Spectacular sports were concluded, then they cry'd out, Burn him, burn him, just as the Jews cryed out against Christ to Pilate, Crucify him, crucify him.

† 2. 234.

And Just. Martyr in his Dial. with Trypho, † tells him how his Countrymen the Jews sent the best men they had from Jerusalem, into all parts of the world, to Calumniate, and mis-represent the Christians: From whence, I question not but it came to pass, that the Roman Governours suspected the Christians to have a design upon the Empire, from the false notion the Jews had given them of Christ's Kingdom; inſomuch, that Justin † told

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† told the Emperour and Senate in his second Apology, † p. 58. 59.  
That if the Kingdom, which the Christians expected,  
were of this World, they would renounce their Religion  
rather than dye, and certainly endeavour by flight, or  
absconding to save themselves, for what they expected to  
enjoy.

Afterwards to justify the Christians from all possible  
slanders and suspicions, of being enemies to *Cæsar* and  
his Government, he proceeds to give them an account of  
the Doctrines of their Master, *Jesus*, concerning † Pati-  
ence under sufferings, and obedience and submission unto † p. 61, 62,  
63, 64.  
*Cæsar*, and all that are put in Authority under him.

In like manner *Tertullian* to vindicate the Christians  
from the envious imputation of being \* enemies to the  
Emperors, because they would not swear by their Ge-  
niuses, nor give them divine adorations, shews from their  
principles, and practices, that this aspersions was † false of  
the Christians, but most true of the Heathens, who had  
rebelled against some, and murdered other *Cæsars*; and  
therefore in imitation of such great examples, I shall pro-  
ceed to enlarge their several Apologies in this particular,  
under the second division of this discourse wherein I un-  
dertook to shew.

\* Hostes prin-  
cipum Roma-  
norum Ter-  
tul. Ap.  
† Unde Cas-  
si, & Nigri,  
& Albini?  
unde qui in-  
ter duos lau-  
rus obdient  
Cæsarem?  
unde qui fan-  
cibus ejus ex-  
primendis pa-  
lesticum ex-

ercent? unde qui armati Palatium strumpunt omnibus tot Sigeriis ac Parthenicis audaciores? de Ro-  
manis ni fallor, id est, de non Christianis, Apol. circa Majestatem Imperatoris infamamur, tamen  
nunquam Albini, vel Cigriani, vel Cassiani inveniri poterunt Christianis ad Scaput.

II. That this invidious charge of the *Jews* against the  
primitive Christians, of being enemies to *Cæsar*, and  
disturbers of his Government. was most malicious, and  
unjust. And this will easily appear if we consider the  
utter inconsistency of it with the Gospel-doctrines, which  
they so strictly practised; the doctrine of Obedience and  
Submission; the doctrine of Peace and Quietness; and  
the doctrine of Patience and Suffering under lawful  
Powers, commonly called Passive Obedience: All which

the Christian Religion taught, and the primitive Teachers and Professors of it practised, to the astonishment and conversion of the Heathen World.

\* *Just. Mart.*  
*Apol. 1. 50.*  
*Euseb. L. 4. 8.*

I shall begin with the precepts of Obedience and Submission, which are such as these :

\* *Rom. 13. 1.*  
 2, 3.

\* Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, for there is no power, but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God : Whosoever therefore resisteth the powers, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation. Therefore ye must needs be subject not only for wrath, but conscience sake. Submit your selves to every ordinance of man (\*saith St. Peter) for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the King, as supreme, or unto Governours, as those, that are sent by him, for so is the will of God. And St. Paul in his Epi to † Titus, hath made it the duty of Ministers to remember the people of this, and to put them in mind to be subject to principalities, and powers, and to obey Magistrates.

\* 1 Ep. 2. 13.

† Ch. 3. 1.

From whence I proceed to the doctrines of Peace, and Quietness, which are such as these: Study to be quiet, and to do your own business; be humble, and gentle, and as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men: put away strife, and clamour, and evil-speaking, and follow after the things which make for peace.

The doctrine of Meekness and Humility, is comprehended in such precepts as these: Learn of me (saith our Saviour) for I am Meek, and lowly: The fruits of the Spirit are Meekness, Peace and Gentleness. And saith the Apostle to the Colossians, put on as the Elect of God humbleness of mind, meekness, and long-suffering.

It was impossible for Cæsar to suffer by a Religion, which obliged its professors under the pain of damnation to be so obedient, peaceable and humble, as these precepts oblige all Christians to be; and more impossible yet, if we consider the doctrines of Patience and Suffering; which are as plainly, and copiously laid down in the Gospel,



as any other doctrines, that are taught in the School of Christ.

This is thank-worthy, (saith St. \* Peter) if a man for <sup>\* 1 Ep. 2, 19,</sup> conscience-sake towards God endure grief, suffering wrong-fully, for what glory is it, if

when you are † buffeted for your faults, you take it patiently? but if when you do well, you shall take it patiently, and suffer for it, this is acceptable to God. For even hereunto were ye called, because Christ also suffered for us,

† Quon dicitur subjectionem domini. debere etiam duris; idem ad riges quoque referendum, nam quod sequitur ei fundamento superstructum, non minus Subditorum, quam servorum officium respicit. Geor. de jre l. 1. c. 4. 6.

Quod autem dixi de domino & servo hac intelligito de potestatibus & regibus, & omnibus culminibus hujus seculi. Aug. in Ps. 124.

leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps: Who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, threatened not; but was led like a lamb to the slaughter, and, like a sheep, that is dumb before his shearers, he opened not his mouth. And rejoice (saith he) in as much, as you are partakers of Christ's sufferings: For if you are reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye; and if any man suffer as a Christian, let him glorifie God on that behalf. According to which (saith the Apostle to the Hebrews in a time of persecution) Let us look unto Jesus the author, and finisher of our faith, let us consider him, who endured such contradiction of sinners, lest we be wearied, and faint in our minds, and consider also, that you have not yet resisted unto blood.

The Gospel is a suffering Religion, and promiseth special rewards to those, who will leave houses, and lands, and wives, and children, and lay down their lives for Christ's sake. It teacheth us, that Christ the Captain of our Salvation, was made perfect through sufferings; that we are baptized into his death, and that as many of us as shall be partakers of his sufferings, shall also be partakers of his glory; who when he had endured the Cross and despised the shame thereof, was set down at the right hand of the Majesty on high. Therefore (saith St. Paul) I endure all things, that I may obtain the Salvation,

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tion, which is in *Jesus Christ*; for if we suffer with him, we shall reign with him. Thou therefore, Son Timothy, endure hardness, as a good Souldier of *Jesus Christ*. Accordingly it puts no great value, nor looks upon any Christian to be a true, and † compleat Disciple of *Christ*, who cannot, when he is called thereunto, take up his Cross, drink of his cup, and be baptized with his baptism; neither doth it prescribe any remedy but flight against the persecutions of the lawful Magistrate, allowing of no other mean when we cannot escape betwixt denying, and dying for the faith.

It would be endless to cite all the passages in the Gospel; which shew it to be an obedient, peaceable, meek, and suffering doctrine, and so far from being prejudicial to *Cæsar's* Authority, that it makes him the *Minister of God*, and commands its professors to give him and all that are put in Authority under him, their dues, and rather dye than resist them by force. *Render unto Cæsar, (saith Christ) the things, that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things, that are God's. And ye must needs be subject, saith St. Paul, and for this cause pay ye Tribute, because they are God's Ministers. Therefore render to all of them their dues, tribute to whom tribute, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, and honour to whom honour is due.*

Hitherto we have seen what Christianity taught, as to active and passive obedience unto *Cæsar*; Let us now proceed to enquire what the primitive Christians practised, and begin our enquiry at the practice of the Founder of it, *Jesus Christ*.

As for him, as he taught, so he lived, he verified his own doctrine, and exemplified his own precepts, both as to active, and passive obedience; for, as *Justin Martyr* told the Emperor, he paid tribute unto *Cæsar*, as well as other *Jews* of the Province; and rather, than resist the lawful Authority, which sent to apprehend him, he let himself be led as a Lamb to the slaughter, saying unto

*Peter*

† 1 Cor. 26.  
13. Eph. 6.  
10, 11, 12,  
13. 2 Tim.  
2, 3, 4.  
Epist. Ignat.  
ad Rom. Cy-  
prius. ad Thi-  
barit Ep. &  
de Lapsis.  
Naz. l. in-  
vest. p. 88.

Peter, who drew his sword: Put up thy sword into his place; for all they that take the sword, shall perish by the sword; and thinkest thou if I would resist, that I cannot pray to my Father, and he would presently give me more, than twelve legions of Angels. And when he was arraigned of high Treason before Pilate for calling himself a King, he made his defence in these words, \* *My kingdom is not of this* \* Joh. 18. 36. *World, for if my Kingdom were of this World, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews, [ but I own my self to be Cæsar's subject ] and my Kingdom is not from hence.*

Thus he set the example, and the Apostles the next Promulgers of the Gospel, followed his steps: For the first time they were beaten by the Sanhedrin for preaching Jesus, and the Resurrection, they \* *rejoiced that they were* \* Acts. 5. 41. *counted worthy to suffer for his holy Name.* Saint Paul in particular speaking of his stripes above measure; of his frequent imprisonments, and of his being so often near death, I glory (saith he.) *in these things, which concern mine infirmities* (as he calls his sufferings, and persecutions) and exhorts the whole Church of Corinth to endure sufferings after the example of the Apostles, *who, as he tells them, were pressed above measure, and above strength; and who despaired of life, having the sentence of death continually in themselves.*

Yet in all this they sinned not, nor never so much, as thought of resisting the powers, but still suffered according to the will of God, *committing their souls unto him, as unto a faithful Creator.* And therefore when Tertullus in the name of the Sanhedrin, accused Paul for a mover of Sedition before Felix, he denied the charge, saying, *They neither found me in the Temple disputing with any man, nor raising up the people; neither in the Synagogues, nor in the City; neither can they prove these things whereof they now accuse me.*

C

Nay,

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Nay, so eminent was the patience and passive obedience of the primitive Christians, that St. Paul applies this Text unto them out of the Psalmist : *For thy sake are we killed all the day long, we are counted as sheep for the slaughter. They followed the Lamb that was slain, they overcame the Dragon by the blood of the Lamb, they washed their garments in Wine, and their clothes in the mystical blood of Grapes; and if any man (saith St. John) have an ear to hear, let him hear: He that killeth with the sword, shall be killed with the sword. Here is the faith and patience of the Saints.*

And as the Apostles followed the Lamb : so their disciples and successors followed them. For St. Ignatius the Disciple of St. John, gloried in the bonds, in which he was carried from Antioch to Rome, and rejoiced to think, as he speaks in his † Epistle to the Romans, *That he was not of the Tares, but of the Wheat, which was to be ground by the teeth of the wild Beasts to make the pure*

bread of God. That whole Epistle is † full of divine, and Heroical strains of Christian patience and courage; and in his Epistle to the Church of *Smyrna*, speaking of his sufferings, he saith, ἐγὼς μαχάρας ἐγὼς νειμὲ μεταξὺ θηρών μεταξὺ

*Deu; He that is near the sword is near God, and he that is in the Theatre among the wild Beasts, is as it were in the midst of God. Ac suffered at a time, when Christians suffered in multitudes, and when they were in a condition to resist; For Pliny in his Epistle to the Emperor about the*

Christians, told him, † 'That  
'the contagion of the Christian  
'Religion had so infected the  
'Towns, Cities and Villages of  
'*Bithynia,*

† Cit. ab Ire-  
neo l. 5. c. 28.  
• ab Enseb.  
l. 3. c. 30.

† Such as, ἀρετὴ καὶ θείων ἐν) βράμια  
 πύξ' ἢ σωτὴρ, θεολογικὴ οὐσασις. Διαφύσεις, σκορ-  
 παίμοι ὄντων, συγκρητὶ μελῶν, ἀλυσίμοι ὅλοι οὗ  
 Σείμα)Θ, ἢ κόλασις οὗ διαβόλου ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθ-  
 ού μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστῇ ἐπιτύχῃ. — λιπα-  
 ρώσις τὸν κρεῖον ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἵνα δια ἡλ' ὁράων  
 οὕτων διαὶ ζωῆς εὐρεθῶ. Κατὰ μοῖα ἀποθανεῖν  
 διαὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἢ βασιλεῖν ἡλ' περὶ τὸν εἶ  
 γη.

† L. 20. Ep. 97. *Vix est enim mihi res digna  
consultatione maxime propter periclitantium, numerum,  
multi enim omnis ætatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque  
sexus etiam vocantur in periculum & vocabuntur,  
neque enim civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam atque*

the Lord Mayor, Jan. 30. 1681.

II

' *Bithynia*, that the Temples were  
' become desolate, and the so-  
' lemnities of the Gods almost

*agros superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est—  
Certe satis constat prope jam desolata templa,—  
Et sacra solemnia diu intermissa*

quite left off: And *Tiberianus* his President of *Palestine*,  
in a Letter to his Majesty upon the same occasion, told  
him, that he was \* 'weary with killing the Christians,  
' who discovered themselves unsought for, and multiplied  
' the more, the more they were put to death. † So early  
were the Christians in a probable capacity of defending  
themselves; but yet rather than do so by resisting the law-  
ful Powers, *they were led like Lambs to the slaughter, and  
like sheep that were dumb before their shearers, they opened  
not their mouths.*

\* *Ἀπὸ γὰρ  
πρωτόμενος  
καὶ πορδαὶν τῶν  
Γαλιλαίων.—  
† Ecclesia ma-  
nus suas ad ori-  
entem occiden-  
temque porrexit,  
ut jam nullus  
esset terrarum  
angulus tam re-  
motus, quo non  
religio dei pene-  
trasset — La-  
ctan. de mort.  
persecut. de  
temporibus  
nervæ.*

.. About Fifty years after this, when the Christians were  
grown far more numerous, *Justin Martyr* told the Em-  
perour *Antoninus*, ' That they were the most innocent  
' and obedient of all his Subjects, taking care above all  
' things, according to the precepts, and example of their  
' Master, † to pay him all his customs and tribute; and  
' that next after God, they loved and obeyed his Ma-  
' jesty. acknowledging Emperors and Rulers to be or-  
' dained of God; and praying always, that together with  
' his Imperial power, he might enjoy a sound and sober  
' mind.

† 2 *Apol. p. 64.*

And *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, another Disciple of  
*St. John*, who suffered about this time, bespoke the Pre-  
sident, who had commanded him to swear by the Em-  
perors Genius, in the name  
of the Christians thus: \* ' We  
' are taught to yield obedi-  
' ence to all Principalities and  
' Powers ordained under God,  
' except in doing things which are destructive of our Souls:  
' Therefore do as thou pleasest, cast me to the wild Beasts, or  
' into the fire, which is not to be compared to that Eternal

\* *Διδασκαλίας ἡμῶν ἀρχαῖς, καὶ ἐξουσίαις τοῦ  
θεοῦ πεποιμέναις πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοῖς  
ἐξουσίαις ἡμῶν ἀντιτάσσονται, Eccles. Smyrn. de Mart.  
Polyc.*

C 2

' fire,



' fire, which thou knowest not to be reserved for the un-  
' godly at the last judgment. And in his Epistle to the  
*Philippians*, he charges them to pray for Kings, Magistrates,  
and Princes, and all the persecuting Enemies of the  
Cross.

A little after this, *Athenagoras* wrote his Apology for  
the Christians to the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, and *Com-*  
*modus* his Son, which in the Name of the Christians, con-

† *Oratio mea pro te & imperio & virtutibus tuis.*  
*quod tua iustitia, &c.*

cludes thus: † ' We daily pray  
' for your Empire, and that the  
' Son, as it is just, should Suc-

' ceed in his Father's Throne,  
' and that God would increase your Dominions more, and  
' more.

This was the disposition of the Christians then, when  
the Emperors, grown secure of their Loyalty, let them  
serve in their Armies in times of Persecution; insomuch  
that Twenty years after this, *Tertullian* told them,

† *In Apol. Hesterni sumus, & vestra omnia im-*  
*plevimus, &c. Tanta hominum multitudo pars pene*  
*Major Civitatis cuiusque — ad Scapulam.*

' That though the Christians  
' were but of † yesterday, yet  
' all places were full of them:

' the Cities, Towns, Islands,  
' Castles, and Corporations, the Senate, the Pallace, the  
' Courts of Judicature, their Tribes, their Companies;  
' nay, the Army it self, and that they had left them nothing  
' but their Temples, and appeals unto them if they were  
' not numerous enough to make greater Armies than any  
' were in the World. Yet then when their numbers made  
them formidable they lived in perfect obedience, and sub-  
jection under the persecuting powers, and daily \* prayed  
for the Emperor, the prosperity of his Empire, and the suc-  
cess of his Armies.

\* *Oramus*  
*etiam pro Im-*  
*peratoribus,*  
*pro ministris*  
*eorum, ac po-*  
*testatibus —*

*Nos enim pro salute Imperatorum Deum invocamus Aeternum — est & alia major ne-*  
*cessitas nobis orandi pro Imperatoribus, etiam pro omni statu Imperii rebusque Romanis — in Apol. & ad*  
*Scapulam. Christianus nullus est hostis Nodum Imperatoris —*

And

And *Cyprian* forty years after him, writes to the same purpose to *Demetrianus*, † ' That  
' they were become a very nu-  
' merous people, and the greater  
' part of the Empire, and yet  
' not a man of them did resist,  
' when he was apprehended, nor revenge the injuries,  
which they endured.

† *Nemo nostrum quando apprehenditur reluctatur,  
nec se adversus injustam violentiam vestram, quam-  
vis nimis & copiosus noster sit populus ulcif-  
citur.*

They had power, and force, and opportunity e-  
nough to do so, for by this time great numbers not only  
of the common Souldiers, but of the Officers, and Com-  
manders, were become Christians, and some Companies  
and Troops consisted almost of nothing else. For about  
Thirty years after in the time of *Dioclesian*, the  
\* *Theban Legion* consisting of  
6666 Souldiers, all gallant  
Christians, is a most compleat  
and admirable example of pa-  
tience, and passive obedience, a Doctrine now so exploded  
in the World.

\* *Vide Eucher. Episcop. Lugd. ap. Syr. Sept.*  
*22. Et Grot. de jure, L. 1. C. 4.6, 1, 12, 13.*

They lay with the rest of the Army at *Ostodurum*  
in *Savoy*, when *Miximian* commanded them to Sacri-  
fice to the Gods. The command being given, they  
withdrew a little off to a Village called *Aganum*, whi-  
ther the Emperour sent after them to come and Sacri-  
fice with the rest. They excused themselves with all  
submission; but the cruel Emperour upon their refusal,  
commanded a Decimation, which was immediately ex-  
ecuted without the least show of opposition or resi-  
stance; *Mauritius* their Commander, from whom *Aganum*  
hath long been called *St. Maurice*, speaking to them  
thus:

*Vid. orationem militum  
qui thus obse-  
runt, Naz. 1.  
inveit. p. 88.*

## A Sermon Preached before

'I was very much afraid ( fellow-Souldiers ) lest any of you, as it is natural for armed men especially to do, should have resisted under the pretext of self-defence: And I was prepared to forbid you to do so in the Name, and by the example of Christ, who commanded Peter, when he drew his sword, to put it up again; and so he went on exhorting them to follow the example of Christ.

The first Decimation being ended, the Emperour commanded a second, when some of them bespoke him thus: 'We are thy Souldiers, *Cæsar*, and have taken up Arms to defend the Empire, and have never yet been punished as Desertors, Traitours or Cowards, and we would now obey thee in this matter, but that our Religion forbids us to worship *Demons*, or approach their polluted Altars; do what thou pleasest, for we are thy Subjects as to our bodies, but our Souls now look up unto the Founder of our Religion, *Christ*.

After that, *Exuperius* the Standard-bearer, spoke thus: 'You see fellow-Souldiers I bear the Eagle, the sign of secular War, but it is not to these Arms that I desire to provoke you, nor in War of this nature, that I would have you show your valour, but in another way of combating, by which and not by your swords, you shall win the Kingdom of Heaven.

He left also this Message to be sent to the Emperour, 'That desperation which made all other men valiant in dangers, could not tempt them to use their Arms against his Majesty, who refused to resist with their swords in their hands, because their Religion taught them to dye in innocence, rather than survive in sin.

The Emperour enraged with their invincible perseverance after the second Decimation, commanded the whole Army to fall in upon them, who presently cut them off.

This

This happened between the ninth and tenth Persecution of the Christians, when, as † *Lactantius* writes † Lib. 5. of them, *Cum tam nefanda perpetimur ne verbo quidem reluctamur, sed Deo remittimus rectionem, When we suffer such unexpressible torments, we do not so much as use any stubborn language, but call upon God to avenge our blood.* *Stultosque arbitrantur esse qui cum habeant in sua potestate supplicia vitare, cruciari tamen & immori ma-*

*lunt, cum possent ex eo ipso videre non esse fructuosam, in quam tanta hominum millia per orbem totum una & pari mente consentiant, cum vero ab ortu solis usque ad occasum lex divina suscepta sit & omnis sexus, omnis etas & gens & Regio unitis ac paribus animis Deo serviant eadem sit ubique patientia, idem contemptus mortis, &c.*

Such was the Faith, and such the Patience of the primitive Christians from the time of *Christ's* ascension, till the time of *Constantine* the Great. Then the Church was blessed with peace and quietness, till the short Reign of † *Julian* the Apostate, who began to persecute again, when the Empire, and Army, now in a manner wholly Christian, adhered to their former principles, and withstood him no otherwise; as \* *Nazianzen* tells us, than with prayers and tears.

† *Julianus exiit infidelis Imperator, nonne exiit apostata, iniquus, idololatra? Milites Christiani*

*servierunt Imperatori infideli, ubi veniebat ad causam Christi non agnoscebant nisi illam, qui in celo erat, quando veniebat ut idola colerent, ut Thurificarent, preponebant illi Deum, quando autem dicebat producite aciem, ite contra illam gentem, statim obtemperabant, distinguebant dominum eternum a domino temporalis, & tamen subditi erant propter dominum eternum etiam domino temporalis, August. in Ps. 124.*

\* *Orat. i. in Julian. ἑὸ το μόνον ἐχόντων Χρὶ τὸ δούλευ φάρμακον.*

Hitherto, and much longer the Christian World was utterly ignorant of Seditious and Rebellious doctrines both under the *Pagan*, and † *Arrian* Emperors.

\* *Vid. Athanasii Apol. ad Const. & Hosium & Librium apud Athan.*

To resist Authority under the specious pretence of defending themselves and their Religion; to enter into Leagues, Covenants and Associations against the Emperor and the Empire; to fight him from Field to Field

Field, and from Country to Country; to hale him from one Prison to another, then to arraign him of high Treason against his own Subjects, and so cut off his Head, were things not more inconsistent with the notion of Monarchical Government, and the express doctrines of the Gospel, than with the passive and obedient temper of the Christians in those happy and glorious times.

\* See the Aff-  
solation in  
the Proceed-  
ings, &c.

Hitherto, and much longer, it had not so much as entered into their hearts \* to oppose, or endeavour to subdue, expel, or destroy any Pagan Apostate, or Arrian Emperor; they knew not as yet what it was to promise and protest in the presence of God, to defend the Christian Religion by force against Idolatry, Heresie, and Superstition; and therefore

III. I proceed in the third place to enquire, whether any Modern profession of the Christian Religion be guilty of this heavy Charge, of which the Ancestors of our Profession, the primitive Christians, were so innocent and free.

*For in the last days (saith St. Paul) perilous times shall come; for men shall be much for self-preservation, or lovers of their own selves; covetous; proud; boasters; blasphemers; disobedient to parents; unthankful; unholy; without natural affection; promise, or truce-breakers; false accusers; incontinent; fierce; haters, or despisers of those that are good; Traitors; heady; high-minded; lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God, having a form, or outward appearance of Godliness, but denying the power thereof.*

Here we see this odious Charge, which was so unjustly laid upon the primitive, is Prophetically drawn up by the Apostle against these last times, in which we and our Ancestors have lived.

And



And is hath been abundantly verified; and fulfilled not only by the Papists; but by those, who have imbibed the Popish Principles of Rebellion, the Bloody Reformers of the Episcopal Reformation in these Kingdoms; whom without any other Apology, but what the Day will make for me, I shall prove: First from their Principles, and Secondly from their Practices, to have been a pestilent sort of People, and movers of Sedition, enemies from their first Original unto *Cæsar*, haters of His Royal Prerogative, and Actors against his Interest and Decrees.

As for their Principles take them, as I find them laid down by the Anti-Episcopal Writers, in such Assertions, and Doctrines, as these.

1. That the people are better than the King, and of greater Authority, and the original of all just power.

*Goodman*, as may be seen at large in *Bancred's* dangerous positions, book 1. ch. 3. *Nicanors* Letter of thanks, second Edition, 1679. List of Charles 1. p. 80.

*Buchanan de Jure regni. Knox his. and appt. and Lyfsmachus*

2. That they have a right to bestow the Crown at their pleasure.

3. That the making of Laws doth belong to the People, and that Kings are but as Masters of the Rolls.

4. That the People have the same power over the King, that the King hath over any one man.

p. 17, 18, 19. out of *Buch. Goodman, Knox, Barrow.* See also *Herod and Pilate.* p. 47.

5. That they may Arraign their Prince.

6. That if Princes be Tyrants against God, and his Truth, their Subjects are free from their Oath of Allegiance.

7. That they may for just causes be Deposed.

8. That it is not Birth-right, nor Propinquity of blood, that maketh a King lawfully to Reign over a People professing Jesus Christ.

*All so the 1. sch. to be seen in Bancr. dang. pos. b. 1. ch. 3. b. 2. ch. 1. and many of them in Sir W. Dugdale's short view of the late troubles,*

*In Eusebius Philadelphus from Edinburgh dial. 2. p. 57. Vindicia contra tyrannos, p. 206. Fenner's Sacra Theol. commen. d. by Cartwright l. 5. c. 13. p. 185.*

Tenures of  
Kings and  
Magistrates,  
1640. Rob.  
Rollock in

Dan. c. 5 p. 150.

all cited in Herod and Pilate, p. 51, 52, 53. See Knox compared with Eman Sa, Suarez, and Philoparris. As to 6, and 7, in Lyfsmacht, Nicanor. 35, 36, 37. Knox in Fontis hist. wicked plots, b. 1. ch. 7. As to the 9th, See Buchanan compared with Suarez, Lyfsm. Nic. 39.

Cartwrights

last reply, p. 61.

The humble Petition to the

Queen, p. 55.

Defence of the

Discipline against Mr. Bridges, p. 127. Cited in the Epist. Dis. to Herod and Pilate. Cartwright, Travers and Buch. compared with Bellarm. Azor. and Suarez, as to Excommunication of Princes, Lyfsm. Nican. 30, 31.

Whittingham

in his Preface

to Goodmans

book.

\* Willock and

Knox in Spot.

\* hist. l. 3. p. 136.

Canterbury's

doom, p. 250.

&c.

Staunton to

the Commons,

April 24. 1644.

p. 28.

Knox hist. cited

in the Narra-

tive of Arch-B.

of St Andrews

murder, p. 67.

ib. 17, 18, 19.

Bancr. dang.

pos. b. 2. ch. 1.

View of the late

troubles, p. 17.

18

9. That it were good, that rewards were appointed by the people for such as should kill Tyrants, as commonly there is for those that kill Wolves, or Bears, or to take away their Whelps.

10. That the King may be Excommunicated by the Ministers.

11. And that he who by Excommunication is cast into Hell, is not worthy to enjoy any life upon Earth.

12. That when Kings will not reform Religion, the Nobles and inferiour Magistrates may, and if they refuse, that the People are bound to do it, though it be by \* Deposing, or the || Death of their King.

13. That the Nobility, inferiour Magistrates, and the people are bound to resist Idolatry by force.

14. That if the Magistrates refuse, the people may, and ought to put Mass-Priests, and Mass-Preachers to death; and that in doing so, they shew the same Zeal, which God commended in Phinehas.

15. That the example of Phinehas stands to us instead of a command, because what God hath commanded, or approved in one age, must needs oblige in all.

16. That it is not sufficient for Subjects not to obey the wicked commandments of their Princes, but they must resist them also, and deliver the children of God out of the hands of their Enemies, as we would deliver a sheep, that is in danger to be devoured by a Wolf.

17. That

17. That Kings, Princes and Governours have their Authority from the people, who may take it away from them, as men may revoke their Proxies and Letters of Attorney.

*Jus populi.*  
*P. 1. 1644.*

18. That Noblemen were ordained to bridle Princes, and that they have their honour of the people to revenge the injuries of their Kings.

*Rutherford's*  
*Lex Rex. p. 177.*

19. That there is a mutual obligation betwixt the Prince, and his Subjects, and that if he perform not his duty, they are discharged from theirs.

*See Lyttim. Ni-*  
*can, p. 11, 12,*  
*13.*

20. That to disobey Princes, which submit their Scepters to Christs Scepter, and act in subordination to him, is indeed Rebellion: but to resist, and rise up against Princes, which do not do so, is not to disobey him, but to obey God, who in this case becomes their Superiour, and Liege Lord.

*Covenanters*  
*instruction for*  
*defensive arms,*  
*Naphthali,*  
*p. 157. Lex*  
*Rex p. 167.*

21. That Judges ought by the Law of God to summon Princes before them for their Crimes, and proceed against them as against other offenders, and that \* the Sanhedrim ought to have put David to death.

*Bahr. Dang.*  
*pol. p. 26. Lex*  
*Rex. p. 173. 175*

22. That wicked Kings, and Tyrants ought to be put to death, and that when Magistrates cease to do their duty, as to this particular, the Sword falls into the hands of the people, and that if neither the Magistrate nor the people will do their Office, then the Ministers, or any one Minister may Excommunicate such a King, after which the rest of the people, who are willing to do their duty, may go to any Moses, or Othniel to be their Captain, and he ought not to refuse them. Nay, in such a case, a private man having an inward motion from God, may kill a Tyrant; as Moses did the Egyptian; Phinehas, Zimri and Cozby, and Ehdad King Eglon.

*The tenure of*  
*Kings and Ma-*  
*gistrates, 1649.*  
*Buch. de jure*  
*regni Good-*  
*man in dang.*  
*pos. b. 1. ch. 1.*

\* Mr. Robert Blair, at the College of Glasgow.

|| Calderwoods *deat Damascenum*. Not unlike *ent* which is that of D. Owens in his *Fast Sermon*, April 19. 1649. p. 22. The Kings of the earth have given up their power to Antichrist. How have they earned their Titles. *Eldst Son of the Church, The Catholick and most Christian King, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH.* Do not the Kings of all these Nations stand up in the room of their Progenitors, with the same *Implacable enemy to the power of the Gospel?*

\* Covenanters information for defence arms, arg. 5. and so faith Bellarm. de

*Lajch*, ch. 7. as they are parallel'd. *Lysim. Nican.* p. 17. || Dr. Henry Willmson of Ch. Ch. in a Sermon at Oxford a little before his Majesties Restoration. See *Spotwood* 423. 424.

At large in Presbytery displayed. See Bramhall's fair warning to England. Spotsw. hist. l. 6. Sions plea. Rutherford's Preface to Lex

Rex. Covenanters answer to the Marg. of Ham. Declaration, *Lysim. Nic.* p. 18. Who compares them in this to the Popists, p. 32. King's larger Declaration, fol. 407. Th. Cartwright, p. 643.

See Spirit of Popery, p. 9.

23. That \* Monarchy is an unlawful government, and || that there is naturally in all Kings an hatred to Christ.

24. \* That there were no Kings before *Cains* dayes, that the Church of God was well governed before there was any Christian King, and || that God gave the Jews their first King in his wrath.

25. That the Church in Ecclesiastical Assemblies hath power to make Laws without the King.

26. That the King hath no power to call, or dissolve those Ecclesiastical Assemblies, nor to ordain a Fast, or Festival, nor to silence or deprive any Minister, because every Minister in his Ministerial capacity is subject unto none but Christ.

27. That the Oath of Supremacy is destructive of Christs Prerogative, that it un-kings him, and makes a mortal sinful man supream in his house; that it is blasphemy a cursed Oath, contrary to the second Psalm, and the Doxology of the Lords Prayer, and that whosoever takes it doth declare he hath no King but *Cesar*.

Lex Rex which calls Mariana the Jesuit an approved author, p. 178. Duglases Coronation Sermon. See Kings large Declaration, p. 409.

28. That it is lawful for the people to enter into Leagues, Covenants and Associations, without their Prince; and that a King cannot be a King, but by a Covenant with his people.

29. That



29. That the Solemn League and Covenant was Christs marriage-Contract; that to act against it is to do despite to the Holy Ghost; that it obliges the people of these Kingdoms, as much as the *Mosaic* Covenant obliged the Jews; that all Acts of Parliament against it are damnable; that to break it is to revolt from God, that it obliges children in the Loms of their Parents, who ought to baptize their children into it; that \* the last great Plague, and Fire of London were judgments of God for burning of it by the hand of the common-hangman, and that his Majesty having revolted from it hath no right to rule.

*Mr. Cate's book of the Covenant in Evangelium armatum. p. 42. Zac. Croftons answer to Dr. Gauden 3 edit. p. 22. See spirit of Popery, 7. 2. 42. Mr. Caryl in Evang. arm. p. 26. \* Poor mans Cup.*

30. That those who engaged in it were unjustly charged with rebellion.

*Mr. Calamy in his Sermon before the Lords, Dec. 25. 1644.*

31. That the \* Parliament without the King was the Supream power of this Nation, and || that as *Josiah* put those to death, who followed *Baal*: so might they those, who will not return to the Lord, and leave their Anti-christianism, which was sworn in the Covenant to be rooted out.

*\* Mr. Calamy ib. Mr. Jenkins in his humble Petition, printed Octob. 19. 1651. Political Catechism, p. 7. 1679.*

*See Mr. Baxter in Evang. arm. p. 16, 17, 18, 19. and Mr. Herle, p. 28. Use of Ch. I. p. 80. Mr. Marthal, Evang. arm. p. 7.*

32. That when Providence depriveth a King of his understanding, or suffers him to turn wicked, or disables him from executing the Law, and protecting his Subjects, that it renders him incapable, and so deposeth him.

*Mr. Baxter in his H. C. W. where there are many more such Jesuitical The- ses. See also the 2d part of the*

*ness of Separation, which shews him to have been a man of Rebellion and blood.*

33. That it was lawful to take up defensive arms, after the example of *David*, who had sworn Allegiance unto *Saul*.

*Stephen Marthal, Evang. arm. p. 21.*

34. That those who fought in the late Rebellion, fought

*Mr. Marthal.*



Mr. Calamy, fought the Lords Battels, and that the War was the cause of God.

Mr. Love to the Commons, Nov. 25. 1646. to Dedle. to Lord Fairfax: and at Uxbridge, Jan. 30. 1644. p. 7. Tisdal to the Commons, p. 14. Leech his sermon, 1644. Case to the Commons, 1644. p. 13.

35. That all people, the English in particular, have a right to choose their own Government.

Each. de jure.

Mr. Case in

Evangel. arm.

p. 25. Covenanters inform for defens. arms. So Bellarmin de Concil. l. 2. c. 19. de Cler. l. 3. c. 6. Life of Ch. 1. p. 80.

Mr. Case, Ev.

arm. 29. 35.

Mr. Strickland,

Ev. arm. 19.

Cases Sermon,

to the Court.

Marshall, Aug. 17. 1643. Marshall's Sermon, March 26. 1645. Herle to the Lord Mayor, 1644.

p. 32. Marshall to the Commons, Decemb. 22. 1645. p. 52, 53. and to the Commons, Feb. 23. 1644.

p. 9. Love at Uxbridge, Jan. 30. 1644. p. 7. Spotswood hist. l. 3. Coleman in Foulis hist. of wicked plots, p. 183, 184.

\* Mr. Sedgewick and Mr.

Strickland,

Evangel. arm.

p. 29. M. Fair-

cloth, ib. 32.

Mr. Bridges,

ib. 33. Dr.

Homes, ib. 34.

Mr. Jenkins before the Parl. Sept. 24. 1656. p. 23. Because he makes so light of the blood and treasure which was shed and spilt in the late Rebellion; I desire the Reader, probably to compute, how many thousand men lost their lives on both sides in it: and as for the Treasure, as Mr. Heath before his

chronicle observes, it exceeds all Arithmetick and belief. For besides the Customs, Kings Revenues, Sequestred Ecclesiastical profits, Sales of the Lands of the King, Queen and Prince, Bishops, Deans and Chapters; Decimations; 100000 and 120000 l. per ann. it amounted in 5 years time, as he computes, to near 20000000 l. Much such another unchristian saying was that of Mr. Marshall's to both Houses,

Jan. 18. 1643. 16. I confidently affirm, that our days are now better than they were 7 years ago; because it is better to see the Lord (mark the phrase) execute judgment, than to see men working

wickedness; and to behold a people ly wallowing in their blood, than Apostatizing from God, and embracing Idolatry, and superstition, and banishing the Lord Jesus from among them. See also p 22.

Scripture and reason pub-

39. That it was as blameless to kill the Kings Person

in a battel, as for a Constable, or Watch-man to knock him down if he committed violence in a disguise.

lished by divers  
anti-episcopal  
Divines, and

ordered to be Printed by the Committee of the House. April 14. 1643. *Evan. Arm.* p. 35.

40. That he had a solemn and fair Tryal, becoming the Majesty of the people of England, and was justly put to death.

As passed the  
30. of Jan.  
1648. and the  
17th. of March  
1648. in Sco-  
bel's Collec-  
tions, Life of  
Ch. I. p. 80.

\* Lastly, that the Usurping powers after him, were law-  
ful powers ordained of God.

*Milton in Apol. Preface to his Iconoclastes, the Pourtraiture of the Kings of England, 1650. p. 15. Armies Remembrance, Nov. 16. 1648. Dr. Owen a Fast Sermon, Jan. 31. 1648. p. 5. 15. A Thank-  
sgiving Sermon for the defeat at Worcester, Oct. 24. 1651. p. 2. 6. Jo. Goodwins Defence of the  
sentence passed on the King. Mr. Herles Preface before his Sermon on 2 sam. 21. 16. 17. Preached to  
the Commons, Nov. 1. 1644. Do justice to the greatest. Sauls sons are not spared, no nor may Agag, or  
Benhadad, though themselves Kings. Zimri and Cozby though Princes of the people, must be pursued  
into their Tents: This is the way to consecrate your selves to God. \* Mr. Baxter, *Evan. arm.* 17; 18,  
39, 40, 41. Slaters Protection Protected, 1648. Mr. Jenkins in his Petition, 1651. Gods Providence,  
i. e. his permission of Events, and Success, are antecedent declarations of Gods will and approbation.  
A refusal to be subject to this Authority [the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England] is a re-  
fusal to acquiesce in the wise and righteous pleasure of God, such an opposing of the Government set up by  
the Sovereign Lord of Heaven and Earth, as none can have peace neither in acting nor suffering for.*

These, with many other such Popish and damnable Po-  
sitions, may be found in these words, or others of the  
same importance, in the writings and accounts of the  
most celebrated Authors, and Ringleaders of the Anti-  
episcopal parties in both Kingdoms; and I forbear to  
name them, both to avoid the loss of time, which such  
a long Catalogue would take up, and the envy which  
would fall upon me for naming of some of all professi-  
ons, who yet live, or whose memory is yet fresh among  
us.

And as the Authors of this new Divinity have  
taught: so they and their Disciples have acted in con-  
tradiction to the Gospel, and the Primitive professors  
of it, and in opposition to *Cesar* and his Laws. It would  
make a large History to relate all their slanderous unduti-

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## A Sermon Preached before

dutiful Speeches, Petitions, and Remonstrances; all their Seditious Declarations, and meetings; all their Riots, Tumults, Insurrections and Rebellions; and all their Treasons, Murders and Assassinations, in these two Kingdoms, from the time of Queen Elizabeth, and King James his Mother unto this present day.

As for the Kings Mother they compared her to *Jezebel*, and *Athaliah*, and \* preached that it was lawful to put her to death. † They killed great numbers of the Popish Clergy, and pulled down Monasteries, and Cathedral Churches by Virtue of Gods Laws against Idolatry, without staying for Reformation by Law. To be short, as King James complained at *Hampton-Court*, they renounced her Authority, put her up in several Prisons, fought her from Field to Field, beat her out of her own Kingdom, took all into their own hands, and forced her for his sake, who was in their custody, to resign her Title to the Crown.

As for him he declares, in his Preface, to all Christian Monarchs, Princes, and States: that they Persecuted him not from his Birth only, but from Four months before he was born. With what inhumanity, and irreverence did they treat him in his Minority, forcing Oaths upon him against his Conscience, and keeping his person under restraint! \* After he got his liberty, their Preachers called him *Jeroboam*, denounced the judgments of God against him, said he was possessed with a Devil; and affirmed that his Subjects might lawfully rise, and take the Sword out of his hand. Accordingly they did so in *Edinburgh*, crying out at the time of the Insurrection, the Sword of the Lord and of Gideon. And to the last moment he lived among them, he had as great contests, against their Ecclesiastical Sovereignty, as ever any King had against the Pope.

As

¶ Herod and Pilate, p. 48.  
\* Cambdens Eliz. p. 95. 3d Edit in English  
\* Spots. hist. p. 123, 124. c.  
Foulis hist. c. 1. ch. 8.

\* Spotsw. hist. l. 6. Foulis l. 1. ch. 8.

¶ See the story of Blake in Spotsw. and Foulis, ib. l. 6. Presbytery displayed.

As for what they taught, and practised in Queen Elizabeth's days, may be seen in the Schismatical \* books of that time; as also from the accounts we have in History, of the bloody Principles, and practices of Coppinger, Hacket, and their Associates; who were all the Disciples, or Companions of Cartwright, and Trevers, and condemned for High Treason, though most of them upon the intercession of the Archbishop were graciously reprieved by the Queen.

\* Such as Martin Mar-Pre-late, H'y any work, Diotrephes demonstration of discipline, and many more made and dispersed by Udall, Barrow, Greenwood,

Studly, Bowler, Copping, Thacket, Penry, and others. As may be seen in Bancr. deng. post II Dang. post. b. 4.

As soon as King James came to the Crown of England, they began to make loud and grievous complaints against the Church of England, in behalf of the Discipline, which to satisfy their clamours made him give them a Conference at Hampton-Court: Where his Majesty having considered the vanity of their Objections, put out a Proclamation for Uniformity; which making them despair of any hopes from him, they entered into a stricter correspondence with their brethren in Scotland, and in England privately magnified the power of Parliaments against the Prerogative; and by those arts so enflamed the people, that the Nation presently began to ring with clamours of grievances, danger of Arbitrary power, freedom of Speech, birth-right of the people, and such like things, as English ears had rarely or never heard mentioned in such a mutinous manner before. Nay, they used all imaginable arts to render the King and Clergy odious to the people, and so Faction, and Sedition encreased more and more among them, till his Son, our late Blessed Sovereign, who was Murdered This day, succeeded to the Crown.

In the first Parl. of this King, one of the Members bid the House take heed lest if they gave too much to the King, they should endanger their own throats cutting as they went home. Another said, It would never be well with England till a Sicilian Vesper was Princes were.

made of the Scottish Nation, as if he had no known what Country was the King, and

I shall not, because I need not relate how this Excellent

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lent Prince was abused, and tormented by them both in, and out of Parliaments. I shall not repeat their undutiful Speeches, and Slandorous reflections on His Sacred person, nor trouble my self and you with reciting those Lies and Defamations by which they represented him to his people for a Papist, a Tyrant, and a Fool.

I shall nor, I cannot with patience rehearse the several Acts, and Scenes of this Execrable Tragedy, from the beginning of the Rebellion to the Vote of *Non-Addres- ses*, which Murdered the King; and from thence to the *High Court of Justice*, which Arraigned, and Condemned the Man.

It pains and torments me to remember the Speeches that were made, the Votes that passed, the Sermons that were preached, and the Books that were Printed to delude his poor Subjects; whom in his greatest miseries he pitied more, than he did his own self. I cannot think upon our *Nashby's*, and all other British fields of blood without horror, and indignation; especially when I consider all the Mock-Treaties they made with him, and that they, as he called God to witness in his Speech upon the Scaffold, first began the War.

Much less am I able to insist upon the Nature, Manner, or Seile of his Arraignment; or tell you the Barbarous and Inhumane manner, in which they abused His Sacred, and Innocent person; when the very abjects of the people gathered themselves together against him, making mow, and ceased not. I leave you to recollect all this, and reflect on the horror of this execrable Tragedy; especially upon this last Act, of which I shall only say, as the *Israelites* said upon another occasion: *There was no such deed done, nor seen from the day that the children of Israel came up out of the land of Egypt until this day.* Consider of it, take advice, and freely speak your minds.

Having



*the Lord Mayor, Jan. 30. 1681.*

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Having now shewed, First, That it was an old charge against the Primitive Christians, that they were enemies to *Cesar*, and did all things contrary to his Decrees;

Secondly, That this charge was most malicious, and unjust;

And having in the Third place found upon enquiry, if any modern Christians were guilty of that charge that the Anti-episcopal people of these Kingdoms have been highly guilty of it, according as the Apostle foretold: I now proceed to make some short practical reflections proper to the times, and the business of this day.

First then, let us seriously reflect on the great difference betwixt the Principles and Practices of Christ and the Primitive Christians; and the Principles and Practices of our New-Reformers, and then consider what Spirit they have been of. Not of the Spirit of Christ, who hath commanded us to lay down our lives without resistance for his sake, and the Gospels; who blamed *Peter* for drawing his Sword; and who not only lived but died an Obedient Subject to *Cesar*, submitting himself unto his Governours, when he had more Legions of Angels at his, than *Cesar* had Legions of men at his command.

Nor of the Spirit of the Apostles, who taught the same Doctrine of Patience, and Passive Obedience to Legal Authority, following the example of their Masters, and commanding all Christians to be subject to Lawful Magistrates, not only for Wrath but for Conscience-sake.

Nor of the Spirit of the Primitive Christians, who inviolably taught, and practised the same Doctrine under Ten famous Persecutions within the first Three hundred years. They were mocked, scourged, imprisoned, stoned, sawn asunder, empaled, crucified, and slain with the Sword: or if they took the \* allowed benefit \* *Matth. 10. 23*

of flight, they wandered about in Sheep-skins, and Goat-skins, in Desarts, and Mountains, and Dens and Caves of the Earth, and all this not only when they wanted power, but when they were become the greater part of the Empire, and a great part of the Imperial Army, and when the Powers that were, did not submit their Scepters to Christ's Scepter, but endeavoured to root his Religion, and the Professors of it out of the World.

Of what Spirit then have they been? even of a Popish Jesuitical sort of Spirit, and of Popish Jesuitical Principles; for all the Positions, which I have laid down out of their Writings, may be found in the Writings of the \* Jesuits, and to the great scandal of the Protestant name they have perverted the Gospel-Doctrines of Patience and Obedience by them, as much as the Jesuits have done.

They have taught and learned all their damnable Doctrines of Disobedience, and resistance, not only against Princes in general, but against their own Sovereign; and as to this part of Popery, I say, as to this part of Popery, they that hold these Principles, are as rank Papists against the Government, though many of them are ignorant of it, as any were in This or the Powder-plot.

Nay the most pestilent, and dangerous piece, that ever was written against this Government, *Dilemans*, or *Parsons Title to the Crown*, they have dressed up in several disguises, not only in \* the time of the late Rebellion, but since the late liberty of the Press.

\* See them paralleled with the Jesuits in Herod and Pilate, p. 54. in *Lysim. Nican.* in *Sir Will. Dugdales short view*, 16, 17. in *L. Keeper Puckering's Speech to the Parliament*, 1585. 27th of *Queen Eliz.* ib. 13. *Dr. Nalsons Introduction*, p. 5.

\* In a Collection of Speeches said to be delivered at a Conference concerning the Power of Parliaments to proceed against their King for misgovernment: with several other Declarations and Speeches, particularly, *Bradshaws long Speech at the Condemnation of the King*, a *Treatise of the broken Succession of the Crown of England*, 1655. to make way for the Usurper. A brief history of the Succession.

And

And from the men of these Principies it is, that we have had within these Three last years so many Impious and Treasonable books Printed, to \* declame against the Doctrine of Passive Obedience; || to prove this not to be an Hereditary, but rather an Elective Monarchy, and that the King is the \* Trustee of the people, || that he is one of the Three Estates; \* That his Office in the interval of Parliaments, is wholly Ministerial to put the Laws in Execution; that his Prerogative in all the branches of it is rather the ruin than the support of the Government; that acts of Parliament were at first brought unto his Majesty, as the Speaker, and Lord Mayor are now presented to him, merely out of respect and honour; || and that Parliaments should sit till all Grievances are redressed, and Petitions answered, that is, as long as they please.

\* The appeal from the City to the Country, which also saith the worse Title the better King.

|| A brief history of the Succession.

\* Implied in the Title of most of the Seditious Pamphlets.

|| A Letter of a Gentleman to his friend, shewing that the Bishops are not to be Judges, &c.

\* Plato Redivivus, first Ed. p. 121, 237.

For the Protestant Religion is the most Christian; who professes saying all the corruptious of the Gospel by Robert; and Robert having written

238, 239, 240 with many other seditious Doctrines, || Dialogue between Tutor and Pupil.

And in all these Books special care is taken to blacken and expose the Universities and the Clergy, and make them odious and contemptible to the People, because they cannot persuade us to go beyond the Word of the Lord, but that we still Teach, and Preach up the Doctrine of \* Passive Obedience to the lawful Powers for Evangelical, and maintain, according to the || Apostle, and the whole strain of Primitive Christian Writers, that Kings are Gods Vice-gerents upon Earth, and that the Supreme, especially the Royal power, is the Ordinance of God.

\* which was called the new Oxford Divinity, by G. Gillespie, in the Preface to his Sermon, preached to the Com-

mons on Ezek. 43. 11. Sciant quis illis dederit imperium, sciant qua homines, quis & animam. Sentiant eum esse Deum solum à quo sunt secundi, post quem primi — Ideo magnus est [Imperator] quis caelo minor. Illus enim est ipse cujus & caelum est & omnis creatura; inde est Imperator unde & homo antequam Imperator, inde potestas illi unde & spiritus. In Apolog. Colimus ergo imperatorem — ut hominem à Deo secundum, & quicquid est à Deo consecutum & solo Deo minorem — Sic etiam omnibus major est, dum solo vero Deo minor est, Ad Scapulam. Psal. 82. 6. Exod. 22. 28. Bract. Saith of the King, Omnis sub eo est, & ipse sub nullo, nisi tantum sub Deo. See the Signature

of

est. Proinde, 1. Rich. 3. cap. 5. Irenaus 1. 5. c. 24. Determinavit hujus seculi regna deus, regis  
 cuiusmodi iussu dei & per Salomonem ait verbum per me regis regnant — Paulus Apost. hoc ipsum ait :  
 quibus potestatis — & Petrus — dei minister est — hoc autem & dominus confirmavit non  
 faciens quod diabolo suadebatur, tribuere autem ex actoribus iudens pro se — quoniam ministris dei  
 sunt — terrenum regnum posuit est a Deo — cuius enim iussu homines nascuntur, hujus iussu & reges  
 constituuntur, — ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ αἰῶνος, ὁ πατὴρ τῶ κρείνους ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χρ-  
 οῦ Σὺ διὰ τοῦ λόγου οὗ τοῦ βασιλείας τῶν αἰῶνων τῶ Σὺ θεοῦ ποτε Κωνσταντίνου δίδωμις — Athan. Apol. ad  
 Constantium.

But Secondly, if these principles be so contrary to the  
 Doctrines of Christ, and Primitive Christianity, then  
 we may learn how much it is our duty to abhor them, and  
 beware of them that hold and teach them, how much  
 soever they may talk of the purity of the Gospel, and how  
 zealous soever for the Protestant Religion they may seem to  
 be.

For the Protestant Religion is but another name for  
 Primitive Christianity, and a Protestant for a Primi-  
 tive Christian, who protests against all the corruptions  
 of the Gospel by Popery: and Popery having apparent-  
 ly corrupted the Gospel in the Doctrines of Obedience,  
 and Submission, and the Divine Authority of the Su-  
 pream power, especially of Kings; they cannot be sound  
 and Orthodox Protestants, who hold the very same de-  
 structive principles to Regal Government, by which the  
 Papists have corrupted the Gospel in those points.

No they are not sound, and Orthodox Protestants,  
 but Protestants popishly affected, Papists under a Pro-  
 testant dress. Wolves in Sheeps cloathing; Rebellious  
 and Satanical spirits transformed into Angels of Light.  
 They were such Protestants, or Protestant Jesuits as these,  
 that formerly set up Jesus among us against *Cæsar*, Christ  
 against his own Gospel, the Apostles against their own  
 Doctrine and practice, and by corrupting and perverting  
 the Gospel of peace, brought the people of this Nation to

turn



the Lord Mayor, Jan. 30. 1681.

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turn their <sup>\*</sup> Plough-shares into Swords; and rise up against the Best of Princes, in the most causeless, and unnatural Rebellion that ever was in the World.

\* 'Tis the sword, not disputes nor Treaties, that must end this controversy, wherefore turn your Plough-shares into Swords, and your Pruning-hooks into Spears, to fight the Lords battels. Love at Uxbridge, Jan. 30. 1644. p. 3. Contrary to the spirit of the Primitive Christians, who, as Justin saith of them in his Dial, turned their Swords and Spears into Plough-shares. You cannot lay out your blood in such a quarrel, the late Rebellion. [Christ shed all his blood to save you from Hell, venture all yours to fit him up upon his Throne. Marston's Paneg. 1643.] See many more such Dissent. Sayings, and a part, 1. 1681.

They were such Protestants as these, that have made so many Protestant Plots, raised so many Protestant Tumults and Rebellions, and committed so many Protestant Murders and Assassinations in these Kingdoms; and perhaps shed more Protestant blood in them, than was shed in the first Ten famous Persecutions; and in one word, such Protestants, and zealous Protestants they were, who shed the dreadful blood of this day.

You may know them by their works; and by their words, and phrases too. For their Throat is as an open Sepulchre; with their tongues they use deceit, the poison of Asps is under their lips. Their mouth is full of curling, or fraudulent imprecations and bitterness, destruction and misery are in their ways, and the ways of peace they have not known.

As there was never so much need to warn the people against the Papists; so there was never greater need to warn them against these Popish Protestants, who have brought an indelible scandal upon the Protestant Religion by this great abomination, and thereby made this Protestant Land an hissing, and the Protestants of it to be a reproach, and a proverb, and a taunt, and a curse in all places, and yet we see they are so far from undoing what they formerly did, and abhorring themselves for their former practices; that if you compare the former, and these later things, which have hapned together, you will



will find them speaking to the people in the very same Prologue, and already entred upon the same prelude that preceeded the beginning of that Execrable Tragedy which they concluded this day. Search in the books of the Records of your Fathers, and you shall find and know, that the men of these unchristian principles have been a Rebellious people, hurtful to Kings and Princes, and that they have of old time moved Sedition within this City and Kingdom, and turned the World upside down.

And since the same principles will upon the same occasion, eternally act the same things; it behoves us as we are Christians, and Subjects to beware of them; and as we tender our private and publick welfare, to be very vigilant over them, lest by their hands we be brought again to confusion, Anarchy, and blood.

But in the last place, if these principles, and the practices of the *Pharisees* that held them, have been so contrary to the principles and practices of Christ, and the primitive Christians, we may see how much it is our duty to mourn, and lament for such apparent and grievous violations of the Gospel by Gospel professors, but especially for the last Scene of that horrid Tragedy of Rebellion which they acted this day. That such a wickedness should be committed in our *Israel*, in a Protestant Country, upon a Protestant King, and by Protestant Subjects pretending to so much light, ought to make us ashamed and blush to lift up our eyes to Heaven, and weep, were it possible, tears of blood.

Was it thus, that we rendred unto *Cesar* the things that are *Cesars*? Was it thus, that we owned him to be Gods Minister, and our duty to obey him, not only for wrath, but Conscience sake? Was this the way to be subject to Principalities and Powers, and did we thus submit our selves for the Lords sake, to the King as Supream, and unto those that

that were sent by him? Was it thus, that we resisted unto blood? Did we thus learn of Christ? and was it thus that we contended for the purity of the Gospel? We, I say, because so many of all ranks and conditions were engaged in that unchristian Rebellion, which brought on this detestable act, as to make them *both* national crimes. All that any way slandered the King, and his Government; all that endeavoured to make him odious or contemptible to his people; all that Preached or Printed, or spoke Sedition; all that raised uproars and tumults; all that furnished Plate or Money, or set forth men, horse, or arms against him: Nay all that had evil will unto him, how much soever they pretended to the Spirit, were more or less in Gods eyes guilty of the Rebellion, which was begun by the Representatives of the people, and all along carried on in their name.

Great reason therefore have we, and the children that shall come after us, the men of *Judah*, and the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, all *Israel* that are near, and that are far off, to be humbled before God for this abomination, and for our own sins, and the sins of our fathers, which hath caused him to pour forth the curse, and bring so great an evil upon us, as on this day.

It was for our iniquities, that We, our King, and our Priests were delivered to the Sword, to Captivity, and to a spoil, and to confusion of face on this day.

May it please God to hear the prayers and accept the humiliation of his people, and divert his heavy judgments which seem to hang over us for such an execrable Fact. May it please him by the precious blood of Christ, which speaketh better things, than that of *Abel*, to purge the whole Nation from the guilt of all the righteous blood which was shed in it, from that Noble blood of which our Sovereign did repent, to his own, which was shed upon This day. Oh that it may neither ly upon us, nor upon

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## A Sermon Preached before

our children ! oh that the voice of it may not cry unto God for vengeance from the ground ! and oh that his Soul like the Souls of the Martyrs under the Altar, be not yet crying out, how long O Lord holy and true, dost Thou not judge and avenge my blood ?

Grant this, O Blessed Jesu ! for the infinite merits of thy own blood, which was shed for those that shed it, and which is a full, perfect, and sufficient atonement for the sins of the whole World. *Amen.*

**F I N I S.**

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on *Daniel*. *Quar.*

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*H. Mari, Opera Theologica & Philosophica. Fol. 3 Vols.*